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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2489th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 26 October 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Abdullah SALAH (Jordan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2489)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. The situation in Grenada:
   Letter dated 25 October 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16067).

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Grenada:
Letter dated 25 October 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16067)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its 2487th meeting, I invite the representative of Grenada to take a place at the Council table, and I invite the representatives of Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico and Venezuela to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jacobs (Grenada), took a place at the Council table; Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) and Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Dominica, Ethiopia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jamaica, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mozambique, Nigeria, Saint Lucia, Seychelles, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Moseley (Barbados), Mr. Gumucio Granier (Bolivia), Mr. Baron (Dominica), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Richardson (Jamaica), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. Fafowora (Nigeria), Mr. St. Aimee (Saint Lucia), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Hoang Bich Son (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): Members of the Council have before them document S/16077, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Guyana and Nicaragua. I have been asked to announce that Zimbabwe has joined in sponsoring this draft resolution.

4. The first speaker is the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of the Commonwealth of Dominica and Chairperson of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, Miss Eugenia Charles. On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to her and invite her to make her statement.

5. Miss CHARLES (Dominica): I wish most sincerely to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members for granting me this opportunity to address the Council. The matter before the Council is one of great importance to us in our part of the world, but we know that you, Mr. President, have a great deal of experience dealing with these matters and we are quite sure that you will bring your wisdom and patience to bear so that the matter may be brought to a final conclusion, taking into consideration all the points that will be made and understanding the degree of anxiety in the minds of those of us who belong to the eastern Caribbean States.

6. The member Governments of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)—Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Montserrat—met at Bridgetown, Barbados, on Friday, 21 October 1983, to consider and evaluate the situation in Grenada arising out

of the overthrow and subsequent killing of the Prime Minister, together with some of his cabinet colleagues and a number of other citizens. The member States were deeply concerned that this situation would continue to worsen, that there would be further loss of life, personal injury and a general deterioration of public order as the military group in control attempted to secure its position.

7. Member Governments considered that the subsequent imposition of a draconian 96-hour curfew by the military group in control was intended to allow them to suppress further the population of Grenada, which had shown by numerous demonstrations their hostility to this group. The member Governments noted that the present régime in Grenada had demonstrated by its brutality and ruthlessness that it would stop at nothing to achieve its ends and to secure its power.

8. Member Governments have also been greatly concerned that the extensive military buildup in Grenada over the last few years had created a situation of disproportionate military strength between Grenada and the OECS countries. This military might in the hands of the present group has posed a serious threat to the security of the OECS countries and other neighbouring States. The member States were deeply concerned that military forces and supplies were likely to be introduced shortly to consolidate the position of the régime and that the country could be used as a staging-post for acts of aggression against them, and they further noted that the capability of the Grenada armed forces is already at a level of sophistication and size far beyond the internal needs of that country. Furthermore, the member States of the OECS have no means of defence against such forces. Member Governments considered it of the utmost urgency that immediate steps should be taken to remove these threats.

9. I shall share with you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council something which I was not in a position to make public before. The Governor-General in fact had requested assistance. Earlier, the Governor-General was in a position where we were not able, for security reasons, to make reference to this. Now that we have word that he is completely safe, we feel it is fair to share this with the Council.

10. Under the provisions of article 8 of the Treaty Establishing the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, concerning defence and security in the sub-region, member Governments of OECS decided to take appropriate action, since such a situation would further undermine political, social and economic stability and would have extremely dangerous consequences for the preservation of peace and security in the OECS sub-region as a whole. Bearing in mind the relative lack of military resources in the possession of the other OECS countries, the member Governments have sought assistance for this purpose from friendly countries within the region and subsequently from outside.

11. Three Governments have responded to the OECS member Governments' request to form a multinational force for the purpose of undertaking a pre-emptive defensive strike in order to remove this dangerous threat to peace and security to their sub-region and to establish a situation of normalcy in Grenada. These Governments are Barbados, Jamaica and the United States of America. Barbados and Jamaica are members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and Barbados is linked to some of the OECS member Governments in a sub-regional security agreement.

12. It is the intention of the member Governments of the OECS that, once the threat has been removed, they will invite the Governor-General of Grenada to assume executive authority of the country under the provisions of the Grenada Constitution of 1973 and to appoint a broad-based interim Government to administer the country pending the holding of general elections. It is anticipated that general elections could be held six months after normalcy has been restored.

13. It has been agreed that, while these arrangements are being put in place, the presence of former Prime Minister Eric Gairy and other undesirable political elements would complicate the situation and that they would therefore not be welcome in Grenada.

14. It is further intended that arrangements should be made to establish effective police and peace-keeping forces in order to restore and maintain law and order in the country. We have already begun talks with persons in the Commonwealth to see if they would take part in the peace-keeping force, and as soon as there are sufficient of them agreeable to doing so we would ensure the immediate withdrawal of all forces, even Caribbean forces which have taken part in the action. After normalcy has been restored, non-Caribbean forces will withdraw from Grenada. Member Governments of the OECS wish to solicit the diplomatic support of all friendly countries for this initiative.

15. Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is not without emotion that, in the name of my delegation, I address the Council on the question under discussion. There is always emotion and indignation over the death of men, of innocent people, over the violation of the elementary principles on which international relations are based, and over the violation of international law.

16. Non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States is one of the principles of international law. That is why Zaire, my country, has always condemned aggression and *coups*, whatever their origin. Therefore, when similar problems have come before the Council or other forums, problems such as that of the aggression against Chad and that of the South Korean civil aircraft, Zaire has not failed to condemn those acts. Unfortunately, we must note that the Council has remained strangely silent. As I said in my statement to the Council on Monday [*2483rd meeting*], by its passivity and even its division the Council sometimes rewards force and violations of the Charter.

17. The time has come for the Council to assure us that henceforth it will not fail to condemn interference in the internal affairs of States, thus putting an end to its present

policy. In other words, we must always abide by principles, and not look at the individual involved. Whatever happens, Zaire cannot support acts of aggression and violations of the Charter, wherever they may come from.

18. That is why my delegation is happy, though also surprised, that those who yesterday refused, on the basis of fallacious pretexts, to condemn past aggression are today asking the Council to condemn acts which we deplore and disapprove of today. In order to protest this ambivalence on the part of certain States and the Council, my delegation, while disapproving of the use of force—I repeat, wherever it may come from—will reject aggression on all sides, by those States which violate the Charter and those which have divided the world between themselves into exclusive zones of influence and which, despite various charades which cannot deceive us, come to understandings in the corridors.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

20. Mr. HOANG BICH SON (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): First, Sir, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and on all the efforts you have made to serve the cause of peace and stability throughout the world. I thank all members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to state Viet Nam's position on the burning issue which is before the Council.

21. The whole world is examining with extreme disquiet the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, a situation fraught with dangerous tensions likely to kindle an explosion because of the hostile and aggressive activities of the United States against Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada and the people of El Salvador. International opinion learned with indescribable dismay and indignation the news of the invasion of Grenada by considerable United States military forces. It is obviously an extremely serious violation of the independence and sovereignty of a Member State of the United States.

22. This action is all the more serious because it was undertaken in breach of the fundamental principles of the Charter by a permanent member of the Security Council, one which has openly abused its absolute military superiority to subjugate and conquer a country a thousand times smaller and weaker than the United States. This action is even more dangerous for the peace and security of peoples in Central America, the Caribbean and throughout the world because it was decided upon in cold blood, unknown to important allies of the United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and even despite their opposition. The responsibility for this action, full of potential for grave consequences, rests squarely on the shoulders of the present United States Administration, whose reckless tendencies are well known to all.

23. It should also be noted that the invasion to which Grenada has just fallen victim is not an isolated and fortuitous act, but had been very carefully prepared for some time by the United States. It will be recalled that in the course of this year the representative of Grenada had already had occasion to alert members of the Security Council to preparations for a possible invasion of his country. The landing operation in Grenada is clearly an integral part of a scenario, now made reality, carefully prepared long beforehand.

24. No one would think of denying that this act is extremely serious, in the light of the present state of explosive tension throughout the world. But in an attempt to justify it the invaders have used the pretext of protecting American nationals in Grenada and restoring democracy to Grenada. However, the pretext of protecting its nationals smacks too much of the old colonialist gunboat diplomacy of past centuries to need further condemnation today. As for the allegation of defending democracy in Grenada, or even protecting the security of neighbouring countries, it is so patently hypocritical and fallacious that it is not worth spending time on. Is it not more correct to emphasize that—as has been rightly shown by the opinion of peace-loving and justice-loving people throughout the world, including even in the United States—this action is the result of an extremely irresponsible and reckless attitude on the part of the American Administration, which has deliberately flouted the principles of the non-use of force in international relations and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, thus insolently threatening peoples with its international policeman's nightstick, giving a perfect demonstration of the law of the jungle and of depredation in international relations? How hollow and ridiculous their fine words sound therefore in connection with the so-called defence of democracy, human rights and order in the civilized world! Would it not be better repeatedly to pillory their brutal and arrogant conquerors' mentality deliberately trampling on the peoples' independence and freedom and on their aspirations to social justice and to peace and security in the world?

25. There is therefore absolutely no political, legal or moral argument that can justify such massive military intervention against independent and sovereign Grenada.

26. The community of States must speak with one forceful voice in condemning this armed intervention against Grenada. The American Administration has stated that it would not get involved in another Viet Nam. But it appears now that the United States has indeed embarked upon the course of a second Viet Nam. So if a timely stop is not put to the recklessness of the present leaders of the United States, the world will shortly be threatened with a third, fourth and even several Viet Nams. The independence, freedom, peace and stability of small countries and peoples in various parts of the world—in Latin America, the Caribbean, the Middle East, southern Africa and elsewhere—are from now on very seriously threatened.

27. Viet Nam, which was a victim of one of the longest and bloodiest wars imposed by those very people who have just invaded Grenada, is fully aware of the warlike and brutal nature of the aggressors and empathizes deeply with the people of Grenada, currently undergoing one of the hardest trials of their history, and declares its unfailing

militant solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of Grenada to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial independence of their country.

28. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam vigorously condemns the aggression visited upon Grenada and energetically demands the immediate cessation of the armed intervention and the immediate withdrawal of the invading troops from Grenada so that the people of Grenada can enjoy their right to decide on their own future, in complete freedom, without any interference or foreign threat.

29. It is in this spirit that my delegation declares its full support for the draft resolution submitted by Guyana and Nicaragua [*S/16077*] for the Council's consideration.

30. Peace and justice will emerge victorious, as will, we are sure, the just cause of Grenada.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. FAFOWORA (Nigeria): I shall be very brief. Nigeria is deeply concerned about the military invasion of Grenada by forces from the United States and some eastern Caribbean States. As a non-aligned State and one that is fully committed to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, we are obliged to state that the invasion is deplorable and wholly unjustified. It represents a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principle of the non-use of force in relations among States. We in Nigeria have consistently denounced, in this chamber and elsewhere, the frequent resort to force by the big Powers to topple from power Governments which they do not like. We have done so in all cases of foreign military intervention and in all regions of the world. We do so because of our basic commitment to and respect for the Charter and international law, which abjure the use of force against States in order to bring about desired changes in their political and economic systems. Respect for the principle of the Charter and for international law, particularly those laws applicable to relations among States, is indispensable for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is the very foundation of peaceful relations among States.

33. What are the militarily weak States of the world to think of this invasion, which also touches on their own territorial integrity and national security? What are we in Africa to make of this? It should be understandable why we should have some apprehensions about the resort to force against Grenada in circumstances which, we are compelled to say, cannot be justified on either legal or moral grounds.

34. In conclusion, I should like to express the sympathy of the Government and people of Nigeria for the people of Grenada in this, their hour of trial. It is our hope and expectation that there will be a speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Grenada, so as to allow the return of normalcy to that island.

35. Mr. NATORF (Poland): The Council is deliberating in a situation of extreme emergency. An assault force from the United States disembarked on the tiny island of Grenada and started hostilities yesterday before dawn. As we are informed, mainly by the news media, armed clashes on the island continue, bringing loss of life and serious sufferings to the population, as well as endangering peace and security in the area.

36. The Grenada adventure involving United States Marines, army troops and sophisticated weaponry, ostensibly was launched to protect and evacuate United States citizens on the island. However, the fallacious arguments raised by the American Administration lack any justification and are totally unacceptable. The representative of Grenada, speaking earlier today before the Council [*2487th meeting*], gave us a clear picture of the real causes of the aggression against his country. He presented us with convincing proof that Grenada posed no threat to its neighbours or to the safety of the United States citizens. The telex that his Government sent to the American authorities proved that the Grenadian Government wanted to continue peaceful relations and co-operation with the United States.

37. No arguments of the kind raised by the United States regarding the situation on the island could justify invasion or aggression. There was no military attack on the United States or the other intervening countries which would justify a defensive military action. On the contrary, there is evidence that it was an operation well planned in advance and that the participation in it of some Caribbean nations was nothing but an effort to create the semblance of a collective action.

38. From the very outset the United States Administration was unwilling to accept the process of progressive change under way in Grenada since 1979 and had threatened the legitimate Government of that sovereign country. As a result, a sovereign nation, a State Member of the United Nations and a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, fell victim to cold-blooded aggression.

39. Two curious documents were circulated among the members of the Security Council, the content of which is aimed at justifying the invasion. The first one contains a statement on the Grenada situation from the OECS Secretariat. It is a rare occasion to read a statement in which violation of basic norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations is presented as restoration of peace and order. Certainly some of the quotations, like "pre-emptive defensive strike", will remain in the infamous dictionary of hypocrisy. In this letter, however, the true intentions, not of its signatories but those of the real force behind the action, were exposed. At the same time one has to admit that the cleverly worded letter of the representative of the United States to the United Nations avoided exposing itself so clearly to the world. But it would be unwise for anybody to think that it is possible to fool everybody all the time. Under any regional agreement there can be no way to justify such action as the one against Grenada.

40. One cannot disregard the wider context of this reckless act of imperialist policy, which was put in doubt even by closest United States allies. This use of force has to be seen as a part of a chain of threats and pressures on Latin American and Caribbean nations in order to make them subservient to the interests of the United States. It is a clear manifestation not only of hostility to the emancipation of peoples but of arrogance, such as that sounded in yesterday's personal tirade against the Nicaraguan representative by the United States representative in her first statement today before dawn. It takes no great political imagination to understand that particularly in the present, already very tense international situation, such a policy poses an extremely serious threat to international peace and security.

41. The United States military action is seen by my Government as an outright act of aggression against Grenada and brutal and open intervention in the internal affairs of an independent State. The armed intervention of the United States is yet another manifestation of the policy of seeking a position of strength, a breach of universally recognized rules of international behaviour and a violation of sovereignty and independence of a small non-aligned Member State of the United Nations. As such, this policy is dangerous to the Organization and to the international community as a whole.

42. Poland resolutely condemns the act of aggression against Grenada and demands the immediate cessation of armed intervention and the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country. The moral censors in Washington, who so willingly were issuing to so many countries of the world, including my own, the certificates of morality or immorality, civilized and non-civilized behaviour, according to their whim, have now brutally tampled the sovereignty of a practically defenceless nation in the most immoral and uncivilized manner.

43. It is necessary that the armed intervention in Grenada be properly condemned, that the necessary steps be taken immediately to withdraw foreign troops from the island, and that the people of Grenada be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination. Although we would like to see the draft resolution on the issue formulated in stronger terms than the draft before us, we believe that its speedy adoption is the least the Council can and should do.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Jamaica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

45. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): Jamaica is obliged to request a hearing in this debate because Jamaica is one of the countries which has responded to the appeal of the authority of the OECS to act and to remove a threat which the eastern Caribbean States saw as overhanging their future security, from developments within the régime in Grenada. I am therefore very grateful to the members of the Security Council for having afforded me the opportunity to be heard in this debate.

46. Many delegations have spoken in this debate, but they have commenced from a position in which Grenada, a Member State of the United Nations, is invaded by troops from neighbouring States, and they have therefore attempted to throw the cloak of United Nations respectability around the shoulders of the régime in Grenada. We would ask you to consider, before attempting to accept these premises, on what authority are foreign troops at present in Grenada.

47. Let us begin with the troops of the Cuban Government. Who invited them to Grenada? Are they properly there at the request of a legitimate government of Grenada? You know the answer to that question. It is a resounding "no". The Bishop régime was illegitimate. It had come to power as a result of a *coup*. It had refused to hold elections, in spite of strong pressure from its CARICOM colleagues that the régime should seek to legitimize itself by holding elections, so as to be established by the people of Grenada. They declined to do so. Instead, they concentrated on building up a military force until that force had become strong enough to destroy its political leaders and to place the whole country under siege.

48. We next heard about Grenada's problems when differences amongst the ruling cliques in the country began to emerge. We heard rumours that Maurice Bishop and many of his associates were disposed to return the country to some form of legitimacy and, accordingly, to establish a democratic government in Grenada.

49. What was the result? Mr. Bishop was placed under house arrest. Having been released by his followers, who challenged the authority of the new military régime, he was wounded, re-arrested and executed. Not only was he executed, but four of his ministers, two trade union leaders and other civilians of the country were also executed.

50. But that was not all. A new régime under someone whose name we understand to be Austin had placed the whole Grenadian population under a state of siege. They declared a curfew and made it known that any Grenadian citizen who was found outside of his home after certain hours of the day would be shot on sight. This is a very, very serious state of affairs to be foisted on the people of the country by people claiming to be the Government of that country.

51. Jamaica is a democracy. For over 40 years or more, we have regularly changed our Government through the use of the ballot box—not with soldiers and bullets. We are members of the CARICOM organization as indeed we are members of the Organization of American States (OAS). But we are aware of the fact that the countries which have asked us to take action are not all members of the OAS. They have their own organization, the OECS. They are all democracies. They have forsworn the use of armed forces in their international relations. Countries like Dominica have no army; others have a few policemen to keep law and order. That is all.

52. You have already heard that the OECS has been increasingly concerned about the state of affairs in Gren-

ada, that for years they have witnessed with grave concern the accumulation of troops in Grenada—an accumulation which seemed, in their view, to go far beyond the requirements of internal security. When they found that these troops had taken charge of the country and had disposed of its titular head and his associates, they were entitled to be concerned. Any members of this Organization who found themselves with such absence of security in circumstances such as these would have been concerned. It was a responsibility placed upon their Governments to take action to secure the future of their countries.

53. The OECS has a charter. Under article 8 of that charter, members are required to take action in a collective manner when they recognize that their security is threatened.

54. The authority of the OECS met in Barbados on Friday, 21 October, to evaluate the situation in Grenada arising from the overthrow of the Government of Maurice Bishop. The authority was aware that the overthrow of the Bishop administration took place with the knowledge and connivance of forces unfriendly to the OECS. The authority also took note of the current conditions, the serious violation of human rights and the bloodshed that had occurred, and the consequent unprecedented threat to the peace and security of the region which was created by the vacuum of authority in Grenada.

55. The OECS Chairperson was deeply concerned that military forces and supplies were likely soon to be introduced to consolidate the position of the régime and that the country could be used as a staging post for acts of aggression against surrounding States. The Chairperson, accordingly, wrote to the Right Honourable Edward Seaga, Prime Minister of Jamaica, transmitting the request for assistance under article 8 of the Treaty, to provide transport, logistic support and additional military personnel so as to assist the OECS forces to stabilize this serious situation within the eastern Caribbean.

56. The Jamaican troops are part of a multinational peace-keeping force intended to remove the threat to peace and security in the area and, at the same time, to restore normalcy to the island of Grenada. The Jamaican troops are not there to protect Jamaican citizens; they are not there to determine what form of government the people of Grenada should decide to have. We are there to assist the people of Grenada to free themselves from a military dictatorship and to establish conditions within which it might be possible for the will of the people to be displayed in free and fair elections. The Jamaican troops will leave Grenada as soon as it is clear that such conditions have been established.

57. Grenada, as a Member of the United Nations, is entitled to the protection of the Security Council against the invasion of its territory. It is being suggested that foreign troops should immediately leave Grenada. If one inquires what those who use these expressions have in mind, it is clear that they refer to American troops, Jamaican troops, Barbadian troops and elements from Antigua and other eastern Caribbean States. No one seems to think that the Cuban troops now engaged in the country are foreign troops. By whom were they invited? By whom are they now authorized to resist this so-called invasion?

58. The Jamaican delegation recognizes that the Security Council has ultimate authority in these matters. We accordingly urge the Council not to call for the withdrawal of troops until the safety and territorial integrity of the people of Grenada have been secured.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I invite the representative of Bolivia to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

60. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation is grateful to you for having given us the opportunity to take part in this meeting which is considered a matter of concern to my country, which respects international law and staunchly supports peace and collective security. At the beginning of my statement I should like to express our satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council. We should also like to thank the representative of Guyana and his delegation for the skillful manner in which he presided over the Council's deliberations earlier.

61. It is with dismay that Bolivia became aware of the latest developments in Grenada. In this connection, my Government issued the following statement on 25 October:

> "In the light of the serious events in Grenada, the Republic of Bolivia reiterates its unshakeable adherence to the principles of non-interference and of respect for self-determination, which are the bases of its foreign policy. Therefore, in expressing anxiety over the situation prevailing in Grenada, it demands that a halt be put to the armed intervention in the territory of the sister country and that the occupying troops be withdrawn immediately. In keeping with the norms which govern the regional system, Bolivia demands compliance with the tenets of the charter of the OAS."

62. Bolivia has always condemned all forms of outside interference aimed at undermining the principles of the self-determination of peoples, the territorial integrity and the political and economic independence of States. As far as the countries of Latin America are concerned, the only valid instruments to preserve our sovereignty and settle our disputes are to be found in international law, as expressed in the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the OAS.

63. The position of Bolivia is backed by a national consensus expressed in a resolution passed by the Chamber of Deputies and adopted unanimously on 25 October, which repudiates armed intervention, supports initiatives for a solution in the framework of international organizations to preserve the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Grenada, and demands the withdrawal of the troops which have intervened in that country.

64. On behalf of Bolivia I express the sincere wish that the events in Grenada may find a solution as speedily as possible within the framework of international law, which this Council is called upon to preserve, by adopting an appropriate resolution that will ensure the immediate restoration of peace in Grenada.

65. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the statements made by various delegations on the armed invasion of Grenada by the United States.

66. On 25 October United States armed forces numbering nearly 2,000 flagrantly invaded Grenada. By this act the United States has committed undisguised aggression against a small island State with a population of merely 100,000 and has wantonly trampled underfoot the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State and intervened in its internal affairs, thereby undermining the peace and stability of the Caribbean region and threatening international peace and security.

67. This is an outright act of hegemonism in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms governing international relations. The United States is a super-Power, whereas Grenada is a weak and small developing country. The equality of all States, big or small, is a fundamental principle governing modern international relations. All States should coexist peacefully in accordance with the principle of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Situations in which the strong overpower the weak and the big bully the small must not be tolerated.

68. The United States armed invasion of Grenada on whatever pretext is absolutely inadmissible. If the present invasion of Grenada cannot be checked effectively, incidents of the same nature will happen to other States. What, then, will be the guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of small countries?

69. We are extremely concerned over the situation in Grenada and continue closely to follow its development. The Chinese Government consistently maintains that the affairs of a country should be handled exclusively by the people of that country, free from all outside interference. The Chinese Government strongly condemns the United States invasion of Grenada and demands the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign troops from that country.

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

71. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I thank you and the Council for having responded to our request to participate in the debate on a serious question concerning the international community as a whole and more specifically our own region.

72. The Council has been convened in an emergency meeting to analyse the situation created by the invasion of Grenada by a military force made up of troops of the United States and some Caribbean States. It is clear that this act constitutes a violation of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibit the use of force in international relations and interference in the internal affairs of other States.

73. The invasion of Grenada represents aggression against a Member State of the United Nations. This act, which is grave in itself, is even more dangerous in the context of the existing tension in the region. The policy of confrontation and intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries of our continent is reaching alarming proportions, and we should like to express our profound concern at this fact.

74. Argentina deplores the tragic internal events that have recently taken place in Grenada and the invasion of that country, and we support restoration of its full sovereignty as well as withdrawal of the invading forces.

75. I would recall that throughout its history my country has always supported and defended most strongly the principles that preserve the territorial integrity, independence and security of the members of the international community. In stating these views I am merely reiterating the doctrine supported by some of the most outstanding Argentinian statesmen, such as Carlos Calvo, Roque Sáenz Peña, Honorio Pueyrredón and Carlos Saavedra Lamas, who pointed out that the sovereignty of States consists in absolute right, full internal autonomy and complete external independence. International coexistence and the maintenance of international peace and security are based on respect for the different positions of States, without which we should be led into chaos and irreversible confrontation.

76. The principle of non-intervention is explicitly enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. Moreover, it is most firmly supported by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and has been reiterated in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States,[1] in the drafting of which my delegation took an active part. No one must attempt to change by force the situation of a sovereign State by occupying its territory militarily.

77. Guyana and Nicaragua, countries of our region and members of the Council, have presented the draft resolution in document S/16077. My Government, which hopes that the Council will respond appropriately to the events in Grenada, believes that the draft resolution contains the necessary and basic elements for a speedy and satisfactory solution of the present situation in Grenada and therefore firmly supports it.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Seychelles. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

79. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): It gives me pleasure to extend to you, Sir, the sincerest congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. I should like also to congratulate Mr. Sinclair on discharging the duties of the presidency so well last month.

80. Mr. President, I have the honour of addressing you and the Council today on a situation of grave concern not only to the island Republic of Seychelles but to every Member of the United Nations. The Government of Seychelles condemns the military invasion of Grenada by the United States of America. It further states that this invasion constitutes a flagrant violation of international law and the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

81. While Seychelles recognizes the unquestionable right of any country to call on partners of its own choice for assistance, it feels that no foreign Power or any country should intervene by force and impose its will on another country if not requested to do so. The Government of Seychelles believes that such military action will further escalate the already worsening situation in the region. This action of the United States can be characterized as that of a "bully", because a precedent has been established whereby similar actions could be used against other small developing islands on the grounds that United States citizens or interests were at stake.

82. Having discussed the legal principles involved in this tragic case, we should like to pay attention to the human aspects involved as well. We wish to pay a tribute to the memory of Maurice, Jacqueline, Unison, Kendrick and other brave Grenadians whose islander vision, honesty and dedication to building a nation free of corruption, a society based on equality of opportunity, good health, decent housing and justice for all, will continue despite mainlander attempts to view and treat decent, young, dynamic and honest leadership with hostility, destabilization and destruction. The once clear blue water that surrounds Grenada has been polluted, and an idealistic young Government intent upon remedying centuries of poverty and exploitation was destroyed last week.

83. In closing, I should like to tell the Council a story that jumped out at me like a hand grenade when I was reading a history book recently. When the first European, Christopher Columbus, discovered Grenada in 1498, it was inhabited by the Carib Indians. None survived colonial times. In the first landing of mainlanders, hundreds of Carib Indians jumped to their deaths from a cliff, now called Caribe's Leap. It is our fear that the present-day islanders may suffer the same fate as the Carib Indians if they cannot get the mainlander to look beyond its own vision. To the Grenadian people, we offer our prayers and sympathy.

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

85. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): Exactly a week ago today the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia extended the felicitations of the Ethiopian delegation to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Permit me to add my own personal congratulations today and to wish you every success in your difficult task.

86. Once again the Marines have struck, this time in Grenada, to subdue a small, weak and developing country. This time again their declared objectives are the protection of the lives of American citizens and the restoration of democracy, in this case in Grenada. History has not failed to record the many but similar crimes committed in the name of these seemingly lofty goals, while the peoples of the world, too, have never failed to recognize the true objectives of these destructive missions. Today the Marines symbolize the imperial ambitions of the United States of America and provoke bitter memories of shattered hopes and frustrated aspirations of the masses of the third world.

87. The invasion and occupation of Grenada by the United States of America is both illegal and immoral. Neither the Charter of the United Nations nor the charter of the Organization of American States, to which both Grenada and the United States formally subscribe, sanction such an action. Indeed, the provisions of both charters explicitly prohibit the invasion and occupation of an independent and sovereign State. Furthermore, Ethiopia does not believe that the Treaty Establishing the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, whose provision regarding collective self-defence applies only in cases of external aggression, does or can form the legal basis for such adventures. In the conspicuous absence of external aggression, the action taken by the United States in tandem with some parties to that treaty therefore cannot but constitute clear and direct intervention in the internal affairs of Grenada.

88. Ethiopia therefore strongly condemns this wanton aggression and intervention and calls upon the United States to withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces from that sister country of Grenada.

89. The legal obfuscations and the complicity of a few Caribbean States notwithstanding, the invasion of Grenada is but the latest manifestation of the policy of domination and force followed by the present United States Administration. As far as Washington is concerned, the entire developing world is or should be the sphere of influence of the United States and should meekly accept domination by the United States. By this twisted logic, any country that attempts to chart an independent course of national development becomes a target for covert subversion and overt military actions by the United States and/or its regional surrogates.

90. One of the many countries which is now targeted for similar military invasion is Nicaragua. Because of the geographical proximity of Nicaragua to the United States, and the advanced stage of military preparations against that country, we feel it our duty to warn the Council of the imminent and grave danger facing the people and Government of Nicaragua. Though the people of Nicaragua will

valiantly resist any and all acts of aggression, the international community also has a duty to act promptly to avert the serious threat to world peace and security that could result from any violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua.

91. At this grave moment, Ethiopia expresses its support for and solidarity with the people of Grenada. Our thoughts and sympathy go to the many that have fallen while defending the freedom and independence of their motherland. The temporary setback notwithstanding, the people of Grenada will ultimately triumph.

92. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

93. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): First, I should like to read a declaration made by a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria:

> "The serious developments which occurred in the island of Grenada are of deep concern to Algeria. The Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has met in this connection with the United States Ambassador to Algeria. In this context, Algeria recalls that non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as well as strict respect for the right of peoples freely to exercise their choice, are inviolable principles. Their violation is unacceptable, particularly when, in addition, it takes the form of armed intervention.
>
> "Algeria considers that this military operation is particularly serious, since it complicates a regional situation which is already difficult. It increases tension in that area and steps up confrontation to the detriment of dialogue and of the search for a negotiated solution, without which there can be no sound international relations.
>
> "The immediate and unconditional cessation of this intervention is a necessary requirement which the international community should work toward without delay, to permit the people of Grenada to exercise in a sovereign manner their right to choose their own political, economic and social systems and freely to decide on how their problems should be resolved."

94. In their variety and complexity, all matters which come before the Security Council fundamentally imply the need for strict respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the norms of international law.

95. Although subject, like all the others, to the principles and norms which should rule the international behaviour of States lest there be anarchy, the tragic situation which we have at present none the less has certain characteristics which point an accusing finger at what can be called, I think, a moral failure of the authority of law and the reign of justice which the Charter was intended to promote.

96. That moral bankruptcy can be seen, first, through the nature of the protagonists in this tragedy. The fact that a permanent member of the Security Council has indulged in such an armed invasion against a people which is perhaps numerically small but at the same time great because of its devotion to its national dignity, in itself implies a condemnation which brooks no appeal. The fact that, in addition, that invasion has won the political support and the token participation of States in that region represents something which is to be condemned for the present and which represents for the future a very grave danger, including a danger to those States, because such a negation of the sovereignty of States, we believe, necessarily has inherent in it certain suicidal tendencies.

97. This moral bankruptcy can also be seen in the unbelievable inconsistency of the pretexts put forward. A pretext such as the protection of citizens in a particular country such as Grenada is particularly inadmissible in current international law. None can be more aware than the host country of the constituting conference and then of the Headquarters of the United Nations of the strength of the principle of the non-use of force or threat of force against the political independence or territorial integrity of any State. None can be better aware than a permanent member of the Security Council of the very rigorous rules which have to be applied in making exceptions, such as self-defence, to this cardinal principle of the Charter. None can be more aware than the States which have recently come to international sovereignty and whose human and material means are very limited of the vital need to strengthen the effectiveness of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in affairs which fall within the exclusive national purview of each State. A pretext with immeasurable negative consequences, the goal of re-establishing "order" or even "democracy" presents a frontal attack on that principle of non-intervention and non-interference and opens the way to breaches of the peace of varying kinds which are completely uncontrollable. An equally dangerous and intolerable pretext, the so-called threat posed by the domestic situation of Grenada for the entire region, echos the doctrine of preventive war which, the Council has seen, is accompanied by tragic consequences in southern Africa and particularly in the Middle East.

98. At a time when peoples and States in various parts of the world have discovered the promises inherent in the idea of good-neighbourliness, at a time when the tendency towards regional groupings has increased for the purpose of seeking harmony and prosperity together, it is particularly distressing that a constituting treaty of a subregional organization has thus been promoted to the rank of an instrument for unjustifiable attacks against the political independence and territorial integrity of one of its contracting parties.

99. Immediately, as soon as we learned that such a juridical instrument had been invoked, our desire to carry out a complete examination of the situation prompted us to go through the *Treaty Series* published by the United Nations in order to discover the conventional basis underlying this juridical monstrosity which has been presented to us as being in accordance with the aims of the United Nations. It

was impossible to find this document in the *Treaty Series*, and apparently it has in fact not been registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations. The text was finally made available to us through other channels. There is a remarkable error in invoking this unregistered treaty before a body of the United Nations when it is in contravention of the very letter of paragraph 2 of Article 102 of the Charter; it is even more irregular to present to the Security Council a typical violation of the principle of *pacta sunt servanda* as an illustration of the application in good faith of a legal subregional instrument. If we read paragraph 4 of article 8 of that treaty, it indicates quite clearly in effect that the concern which prompted those States parties was simply to provide collective defence against external aggression. Now it is quite obvious that there was no outside aggression and the Government of Grenada did not invoke that treaty, nor did it request any assistance.

100. The continuing flagrant violation of the Charter which we have witnessed has become more serious in view of the political plans of the authors of the invasion with respect to Grenada—plans repeated here today—which amount to nothing less than placing the entire people of that sovereign State Member of the United Nations under trusteeship.

101. In dwelling on some of these fundamental legal considerations, I have not lost sight of the actual chronology of events, or of the disturbing indications that the aggression was coldly premeditated. The news media have issued numerous reports on the movements of the United States naval forces since Thursday, 20 October, prior to the actual meeting of the States members of the OECS.

102. The overt invasion of Grenada by foreign armed forces cannot claim any legality or legitimacy. It is unjustifiable on every count and should therefore be duly condemned by the Security Council as an act of unprovoked armed aggression. With the same firmness, the Council must, in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter, require the immediate and unconditional evacuation of the forces of aggression and foreign occupation. Bowing respectfully to the memory of the innocent lives sacrificed as a result of this invasion, and commending the heroic resistance of the people of Grenada, which is clinging to its right to live, I shall have performed an act of moral tribute which Algeria was duty bound to pay to the friendly and sorely tried people of Grenada. I do so as a sincere friend of the other peoples and States of the region and as a member of an international community, whose unassailable values and most elementary principles have been organically affected by this act of armed aggression.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

104. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic is participating in this debate in order to join its voice to the numerous voices which have strongly condemned the invasion of Grenada by the United States of America. That invasion constitutes yet another act of aggression in the chain of American acts of aggression against the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. We consider that military action by the United States to be a flagrant violation of the inalienable right of the people of Grenada to self-determination and the structuring of its society free from any outside intervention. There is no doubt that this blatant act of aggression stems from an imperialist policy based on supremacy and domination, which are the essential goals of imperialism, whose acts are incompatible with the rules of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

105. The events that took place in Grenada shortly before the American military intervention are the internal affairs of the people of Grenada. Neither the United States nor anyone else has the right to intervene in order to try to shape the destiny of Grenada. There is no justification, either in morality or in law, that can be cited by the United States as a reason for its aggression.

106. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic calls upon the Security Council urgently to condemn that aggression. It also calls for the immediate withdrawal of United States forces from the island, for compensation to be paid for the losses sustained and for a fact-finding mission. The Syrian Arab Republic is ready, in co-operation with non-aligned countries, to mobilize all the necessary political and moral forces in order to protect the sovereignty of a fraternal people whose noble positions within the framework of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries cannot be forgotten.

107. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic calls upon the Security Council to adopt without any modifications the draft resolution sponsored by Guyana and Nicaragua, especially since it is based on the internationally recognized principles to which we have committed ourselves in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and a number of other international instruments, foremost among which are the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,[2] the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States[1] and the resolution, which is so strongly disliked by the United States, on the definition of aggression.[3]

108. If the United Nations—in particular, the Security Council—is to keep whatever is left of its credibility, it must reaffirm, in the context of the invasion of Grenada, the right of that peace-loving and non-aligned island to decide its own destiny, its own political, social and economic system, in order to enable it to conduct its international relations without foreign interference and remaining aloof from sabotage, coercion or intimidation in any form.

109. The Syrian Arab Republic takes this opportunity to declare its deep admiration for the valour of the people of Grenada in the face of the act of aggression perpetrated by

the United States against a small island with a small population, but people have proven that freedom is more valuable than life under the yoke of imperialist supremacy based on the might of arms.

110. Yesterday [*2487th meeting*] we listened attentively to the statement by the representative of Grenada in the Council. We hope that the United States delegation has learnt some lessons from that statement—a statement that expressed very clearly all the feelings that weak peoples experience when they fight treachery, malice and foreign control. He said:

> "Are we to return to the period of the 1950s and 1960s? Are we to allow size and power to determine whether or not a country has the right to pursue its policies as it has chosen? Have we reached such a stage in the world today that no country can be allowed to pursue its policies without the dictates of another country, much bigger, thousands of times the size of our country, trying to tell us what we must do?
>
> "All of us must ask ourselves this, all of us, because the United States is one of the biggest countries in the world, and Grenada is one of the smallest, and many of the countries represented by those present in the chamber tonight, though bigger than Grenada, are much smaller than the United States. If today the United States can invade Grenada and impose a Government to its liking, international law has collapsed and the world will return to anarchy."* [*Ibid., paras. 104 and 105.*]

Those words must be remembered by all because they express the reality of an international community which is no longer governed by the purposes and principles of the Charter but, rather, by the law of the jungle.

111. We are surprised that the United States, which has fomented discord in all parts of the world where it can reach, destroying, killing, bombarding and occupying, and deploying its military naval, air and ground forces in places thousands of miles away from its territory, is doing so on a misleading slogan, namely "establishing democracy". However, by resorting to such pretexts the United States is deceiving no one but the American people, which finds itself thrust into dilemmas and situations that have nothing to do with its vital interests. As a result of the policies pursued by the United States Administration, the individual American is a victim sacrificed on the altar of the betrayal by his Government of other peoples. The American people was forced into aggression against the people of Viet Nam. What was the result? The destruction of Viet Nam, the killing of dozens of thousands of American young men. Today Americans are forced into wars and operations that serve the interests of successive United States Administrations to give candidates a better chance in elections, as though the destiny of the world must be linked to the whims of American candidates and the pressures of various lobbies; as if the American people—as if all of us—had to pay with the blood of our children the price of electoral campaigns for posts in the United States Administration. If we view United States elections as one of the constant factors for determining United States foreign policy, then the world is bound to face local wars every four years.

112. We wonder why the Arabs and the people in Central America are being killed. Why are the crimes perpetrated by Israel, with the support and overt blessing of the United States, to be condoned? Who is to profit from that? There is no real profit. There are losses inflicted upon the international community as a whole. Those who reap profits are the parties to the industrial-military alliance in the United States.

113. The future of this world, of its countries large and small, should not be mortgaged to American interests—to selfish, narrow interests which have nothing to do with those of our struggling people, who aim at nothing but to attain economic and social progress and to consolidate their independence and maintain their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

114. Yesterday we heard the statement made by the representative of Nicaragua, who warned us of the consequences of American military intervention in the States of Central America. We are confident that the United States is planning to carry out its plots and schemes against Nicaragua and other States. Those schemes and acts of intervention are a source of shame for the whole world, in particular because they are being perpetrated under the guise of "democracy," whose quality, degree, goals and value are determined in accordance with the fluctuations of financial markets in a world controlled by monopolistic companies and transnational corporations which have more power and influence than a lot of independent States.

115. The Monroe Doctrine was nothing but a means to legitimize the absolute right claimed by the United States to extend its political, military and economic domination and hegemony over Latin America, with no competition, through aggression and intervention which the United States has tried to prove it can unilaterally carry out, without the support of colonialist European States. In other words the United States refuses multilateralism even in colonialism.

116. The American invasion of Grenada came as no surprise to anyone, for ever since Grenada chose a popular, progressive régime pursuing progressive policies internally and externally, the United States did not cease making it known publicly that it was trying to topple that régime by any means at its disposal. My delegation has always had in mind the American military option, on the basis of our firm belief that imperialism is bound to resort to aggression to change whatever is not compatible with its imperialist objectives in extending its hegemony over any part of the third world. That is particularly so because successive American Administrations have always considered the Caribbean and Central American regions their exclusive spheres of influence, regarding them as regions that were created to serve the interests of American investments and American military strategy.

* Quoted in French by the speaker.

117. There is a major contradiction between the aspirations of peoples to self-determination and the free choice of their own systems, on the one hand, and American interests on the other. Those interests are always satisfied by exploitation carried out through interference in the internal and external affairs of other States—in particular, States geographically located in regions considered by the United States to be its spheres of influence.

118. The invasion by the American navy of the island of Grenada is yet another link in the chain of American interference aimed at creating régimes that acquiesce completely in American selfish interests or at toppling régimes which have chosen the path of self-determination, and have done so in a manner consistent with the wishes of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of those countries.

119. Only yesterday the representative of Nicaragua reminded us of the policies pursued by the United States—its blatant interference in the affairs of the American continent in contemporary history—and we thank him for that, as his statement helps us to analyse the action taken against the island of Grenada in the light of the inevitable identity of imperialist thought and action. The United States has never concealed the fact that its gunboat policy is a natural extension of its world ambitions. Therefore, it justifies that policy and regards it as a commonplace, natural one, stemming from its national interests.

120. For historic reasons, the United States has always believed in the stupid theory that it is infallible, that everything that is done by American democracy is right and that everything that is done by developing countries to achieve progress is wrong. Therefore, the use of force is legitimate, as long as it serves the interests of the American régime. American logic makes United States policy a nightmare for our peoples, which aspire to peace and stability and to progress in all fields. Most of us are developing peoples, trying to build our countries with resources different from those of the American society. Our societies also have different origins. The major problem facing the world today is that the United States is trying to impose its values on the world, and in particular the third world, thus depriving the peoples of that world of the right to build their countries in accordance with their local circumstances, based on their cultural values, geographic and economic situation and national priorities.

121. We pin great hopes on this Council's ability to face the grave situation created by the American invasion. The situation is grave for the whole world, where great distances no longer exist because of the technological revolution, a revolution that augurs well for a better life but at the same time threatens the extinction of life on earth. We hold the United States primarily responsible for the creation of turbulence in this world of ours. We tell the United States that the policy of force pursued by its current Administration in an unprecedented manner will redound on those who carry it out. History is full of examples.

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

123. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have asked to speak again because it is necessary to make the following statement.

124. The cowardly, treacherous and base aggression launched yesterday by the imperialist Government of the United States against the heroic people of Grenada seems to have to run its course, or is about to end, to the shame of all honest men everywhere. The right to self-determination and independence of a fraternal Caribbean country, one of the smallest in our hemisphere and certainly on the planet, has been mercilessly trampled underfoot by a State that boasts of possessing the greatest might in the world, by a permanent member of this Council, whose primary obligation is to defend the peace and security of all countries, large or small.

125. This fact, albeit monstrous, is in no way a surprise to us Cubans, who have prior knowledge of the ferocity and cowardly fury of which are capable the heirs of Jim Crow, Theodore Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and of the fascistic, racist and criminal ideology represented by the John Birch Society, the magazine *Commentary* and the intimate circle of collaborators of the present President of the United States, Ronald Reagan.

126. As I pointed out in my statement yesterday [*2487th meeting*], the history of our America—indeed, the history of contemporary mankind—is rife with Yankee "feats" similar to this, which with Wagnerian fanfare the martyrdom of the people of Grenada is touted as a magnificent victory over a mythological Hydra by a bold knight waving the banner of "freedom" and "democracy".

127. There is no cruder evidence of the poverty of the ideology and the political symbolism of the new Yankee Nazis than this disgraceful episode. Paraphrasing the words of the great Spanish poet Antonio Machado, future generations in America will forever recall, with the indignation of the just, that "the crime was in Grenada, in our Grenada".

128. I shall not waste the valuable time of the Council—or my own, for that matter—refuting the base lies of those who will go down in history as wretched butterflies pierced by the just pin of the peoples, as accomplices and lackeys of Yankee imperialism in the martyrdom of the people of Grenada. Eunuchs still with a colonizer mentality, they conceal their national impotence behind their new masters, hoping for the miserable crumbs they beg for in the retinue of treason. However, they will be called to account before Mother America.

129. I do, however, wish to refer to the double-faced, wretched and twisted behaviour of the true architect of the invasion of Grenada, the imperialist Government of the United States.

130. At 2100 hours, Cuban time, on Saturday, 22 October 1983, through the office in charge of United States interests in the Swiss Embassy in Havana, my Government sent the United States Government the following message:

"The American side is aware of the events in Grenada; it is also aware of our position with respect to those events and our intention not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. We know that you are worried about the many American residents there. Cuba is also worried about the hundreds of advisers working there in various undertakings and by the news that United States naval forces are approaching Grenada.

"According to our information, no American or other foreigner has had any problems, nor have our own people there. It is advisable for us to keep in touch on this question, to co-operate to ensure that any difficulty that may arise and any measure regarding the security of these persons may be resolved favourably, without violence and without interventions in the country."

131. On 25 October, at 8.30 a.m., Cuban time, that is to say, three days after our note was handed over to the head of the United States interests section, Mr. John Ferch, the Government of that country made the following reply to our message:

"The United States interests section in the Swiss Embassy presents its greetings to the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cuba and has the honour to inform the Ministry that the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, impelled by profound concern at the anarchy, the bloodshed and the disregard for life on the island of Grenada, has requested the Government of the United States to help the armed forces of its member States to restore security in Grenada.

"In reply to this request, and taking into account the need to safeguard the lives of hundreds of American citizens who are in Grenada at this time, the Government of the United States has acceded to that request.

"Therefore, armed forces of the States members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, with the support of the United States, Barbados and Jamaica, have entered Grenada for the purpose of restoring order and public safety.

"The Government of the United States is aware that there are military and civilian personnel in Grenada from the Republic of Cuba and has taken into full account the message on this subject handed over on the night of 22 October by the Ministry of External Relations to the chief of the United States interests section in Havana. I wish to assure the Government of the Republic of Cuba that every effort is being made and will continue to be made to guarantee the safety of those persons pending the restoration of order. Those persons will be granted safe conduct from Grenada as soon as conditions permit. The Government of the United States accepts the Cuban proposal of 22 October to respect the safety of persons on both sides.

"Civilian representatives currently in Grenada with the United States armed forces have received instructions to keep in touch with the Cuban ambassador in Grenada in order to guarantee all due consideration and security to Cuban personnel in the island and to provide the necessary means to the Grenadian authorities to facilitate their prompt evacuation. The armed forces of the United States stands ready to guarantee such an evacuation in ships of third parties as soon as possible.

"Furthermore, immediate attention will be given"—I repeat: immediate attention will be given—"to any opinion which Cuba communicates to the State Department through the Cuban interests section in Washington or the office of United States interests in Havana."

132. When this note of the United States Government arrived, one and a half hours earlier—I repeat: one and a half hours earlier—that country's troops had already started attacking Cuban personnel, and three hours earlier disembarkment had begun.

133. At 5 p.m. on 25 October, while intense fighting was going on, the United States Government, through Mr. Ferch, sent the following message:

"The actions of United States troops in Grenada are not aimed at Cuban personnel residing there.

"The United States is ready to co-operate with the Cuban authorities for their personnel to leave for Cuba.

"The United States is aware"—I repeat: "the United States is aware"— "that the armed Cuban personnel have neither the weapons nor the munitions reserves for prolonged action, and, thus, to maintain a belligerent stance would lead to a useless loss of life.

"The United States does not wish to make it appear as if the armed Cuban personnel had surrendered.

"Finally, it regrets that armed clashes have occurred between men of both countries and believes that these have happened because of the confusion and blunders arising out of the presence of Cubans in areas close to the operations of the multinational troops."

134. At 8.30 p.m. yesterday, Cuban time, my country's Ministry of Foreign Relations gave Mr. Ferch the following reply to the note I have just read out:

"Cuba has done everything in its power to avoid intervention, and in our note Saturday we explained that no United States or other foreign citizen, according to our information, is in danger. At the same time, we expressed our readiness to co-operate so that problems could be resolved without violence or intervention.

"Intervention is totally unjustifiable. Cuba has refrained from any interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of the country, in spite of our friendship with and sympathy for Bishop.

"The reply to our constructive note delivered on Saturday, 22 October, at 9 p.m. arrived on Tuesday, 25 October, at 8.30 a.m., when one and a half hours earlier our personnel and installations at the airport were being attacked by United States troops.

"Cuba has no soldiers in Grenada; there are only civilian construction workers and advisers, with the exception of a few dozen military advisers who were working with the army and with the security services before Bishop's death. Our personnel had instructions to fight only if attacked and not to be the first to open fire. Furthermore, they have been instructed not to hinder any action, in the area of the road close to the American university, for the evacuation of American citizens. Clearly, if the aim was to occupy Cuban installations, there would be clashes.

"Our personnel has suffered an unknown number of dead and wounded in today's clashes.

"The attack by United States troops occurred by surprise and without any kind of prior warning.

"Although the Cuban personnel who can still resist are numerically, technically and militarily at a total disadvantage, their morale is high and they are determined to continue defending themselves if these attacks continue.

"If the intention is really to avoid further bloodshed, there must be an end to attacks against the Cuban and Grenadian personnel still in combat and a willingness to find a dignified way of putting an end to the battle, a battle which in no way does honour to the United States acting against small forces which, although they could not resist militarily against the overwhelming superiority of the United States forces, losing the battle and even sacrificing their lives, are in a position to inflict a costly moral defeat on the United States, the most powerful country in the world, which is enmeshed in a war against one of the world's smallest States.

"The Cuban in charge has been given instructions to receive any person in authority who may wish to contact him and listen to his views and transmit them to Cuba."

Finally, the Cuban note concludes by stating that:

"We cannot fail to bear in mind the fact that some Grenadian units are also fighting and that the way in which Cubans are treated must not differ from the treatment accorded to them."

135. The reply to the Cuban message was given early this morning, when United States military aircraft and helicopter gunships, together with artillery and mortar fire, carried out intensive attacks against Cuban positions, destroying almost entirely the main building remaining in Cuban hands and causing many casualties. The survivors—according to information given the people by our Government—continued to fight.

136. At 9 this morning, 26 October, the Cuban ambassador in Grenada related that the note of President Fidel Castro to the United States Government was read out to the Cuban personnel in combat and that our comrades responded that, in keeping with the worthy traditions of our people and following the personal example of our Commander in Chief, they would fight to the last man and the last bullet and that, their morale higher than ever, they would cry out: "Our homeland or death—we shall triumph!" The truth is that after 24 hours of heroic resistance a handful of Cubans continued to wage an historic battle against the naval, air and land forces of the United States.

137. At 9.55 a.m., Cuban time, the Cuban Embassy in Grenada made it known that the most recent enemy attack on our positions had been conducted using all means: fighter aircraft, helicopters, medium- and large-calibre artillery, and mortars. In the end a group of six comrades continued to fight, embracing our flag.

138. At 11.17 a.m., the Cuban ambassador sent this communication: there is no further Cuban resistence. The fighters of the last redoubt did not give in, and sacrificed themselves for their homeland. The contingent of Cuban construction workers and advisers in Grenada, without question, had a patriotic and revolutionary spirit which raises them to the height of those who forged the freedom and dignity of our America.

139. Our revolutionary Government and our Commander in Chief, aware of the special circumstances in which this courageous group of comrades found themselves after the death of Maurice Bishop and his close associates in the Grenadian Party and Government—for all of whom we felt great friendship and respect, as people along with whom we were confronting the same imperialist enemy—did not hesitate to point out the duty which falls to all of us as a result of the profound sense of responsibility and revolutionary solidarity among peoples which we have learned from Fidel personally. Thus, when the Yankee ships were approaching Grenada, the Cuban revolution, out of the most elementary respect for its own lofty values, could not order the withdrawal of our personnel from that sister island. In keeping with our principles they were instructed to defend themselves if attacked, nothing more.

140. The Cuban construction workers and advisers in Grenada and their heroic chief, Colonel Tortoló, calmly and decisively accepted Fidel's instructions. Their tremendous resistence in the face of forces which were vastly superior numerically, technically and militarily demonstrated once again the deep-rooted revolutionary and patriotic convictions of our people and their determination to defend the honour of the homeland and the revolution wherever we may be surprised in battle.

141. Today the forces of imperialism and reaction have martyred Grenada. Tomorrow they could attempt the same in another country of our America or of another continent. This morning United States radio and television broadcast the news that United States armed forces were in a state of alert at the naval base illegally occupied on Cuban territory, at Guantanamo. We alert this Council and world public opinion to that fact, lest the Yankee ruling circles, intoxicated by their tremendous victory over tiny Grenada, should decide to perpetrate an act of provocation against Cuba, as they attempted to do in the 1960s. If attacked, the Cuban people, our glorious revolutionary armed forces and our territorial militias will be able to defend the soil of our homeland with the same courage, tenacity and heroism displayed by our comrades who fell in combat in Grenada.

142. Grenada could turn out to be for the Yankee imperialists in Latin America and the Caribbean what Moncada was for the Batista tyranny in Cuba. Eternal glory to the heroes of Grenada! Our homeland or death—we shall triumph!

143. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): France maintains relations of esteem and friendship with Grenada. Linked to the European Community by the Lomé Convention, Grenada had gradually developed co-operative relations with my country in the economic and cultural spheres. The visit by Mr. Maurice Bishop to Paris in September 1982 bore witness at the highest possible level to the desire of both our Governments further to strengthen those ties.

144. This explains the attention with which France followed the events that led on 19 October to the tragic death of Mr. Bishop and of several of his associates. My Government immediately expressed its sadness and concern at the disturbances once again affecting Grenada. That concern increased at the news of the foreign armed intervention in the island.

145. France is devoted to respect for the principles of non-use of force in international relations and of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and deeply deplores this armed intervention. As recalled by the President of the French Republic, Mr. François Mitterand, "Law is indivisible. International society is based on principles—in particular on the right of peoples to self-determination—which hold the same value everywhere."

146. The justifications put forward, relating to the internal situation of Grenada, do not seem to us to be admissible. They do not meet the conditions under which an intervention of this nature and magnitude could be considered. International law, in particular the Charter of the United Nations, authorizes intervention only in two eventualities: in response to a request from the legitimate authorities of the country, or upon a decision taken by the Security Council. I must add that France has never accepted certain interpretations of the Charter whereby other organs could authorize armed intervention without the approval of the Security Council.

147. In the present situation, we are thinking of the people of Grenada and their future. Everything must be done to allow them, without any further delay, to regain the right to decide their fate, independently and in full sovereignty.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of Antigua and Barbuda. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

149. Mr. JACOBS (Antigua and Barbuda): I wish, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the important office of President of the Security Council for the month of October. Your diplomatic skills, outstanding abilities and the lofty ideals and principles which you hold, will, I am sure, guide the deliberations of this body.

150. Before I begin my statement, I wish to draw attention to a statement made by the representative of Cuba yesterday before the General Assembly.[4] He accused the OECS countries of being lackeys for the imperialist United States of America.

151. In my right of defence in this forum, I wish to state that my country, Antigua and Barbuda, is a small island, a member of that group of States that is militarily weak and economically vulnerable. In this world, which has become progressively more susceptible to the menace of power, small countries such as mine are discovering with increasing frequency that the principles of justice and equality of universal peace and development for which this body was created are discarded daily.

152. My delegation deeply resents the arrogance which leads some countries to believe that they have a God-given right to make decisions for the rest of us, especially when we are small and militarily weak. My delegation resents the term "lackeys" used by the representative of Cuba to described the OECS countries, which agreed amongst themselves to take concerted action to free their brothers in Grenada from the tyranny of guns.

153. When these belligerent countries speak about lackeys, I must state unequivocally that the communist satellites, the lackeys and puppets of totalitarianism, must remember that their sole purpose is to impose the will of their imperialist masters on others. When we speak of lackeys and puppets, we speak of those who dared not and could not condemn the Soviet Union for the invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent mass annihilation of Afghan nationals. When we speak of puppets, we speak of those who dared not and never could condemn the Soviet butchers for blasting the Korean air liner from the skies. We speak of those who oppress and suppress their people at the will of their masters. We speak of those who ban a free press and turn their backs on constitutional government supported by the will of the electorate.

154. In this regard, my country, though small, is free. We make our own decisions. We speak boldly when we must. We condemn those who are wrong. We support the cause

of justice and we uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

155. In 1979 there was a bloodless coup in Grenada, a member State of the OECS. Following the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the OECS member States worked harmoniously with their brothers and sisters in Grenada.

156. A few days ago, Mr. Maurice Bishop, leader of the People's Revolutionary Movement in Grenada, was placed under house arrest because he sought to reintroduce constitutional rule with a parliamentary system and restore to the people the right to elect their own government. Backed by Cuban and communist troops, a few madmen seized power and foisted on the backs of our black brothers and sisters a revolutionary junta with Cubans and Russians as advisers. When the people gathered in large numbers and removed Mr. Bishop from house detention, the crowd was dispersed with shells and bullets. Mr. Bishop and four of his cabinet ministers were lined up against a wall and shot to death. The rule of law was replaced by the rule of the gun.

157. This state of affairs constituted a serious threat to the security and peace of the region. The OECS and its CARICOM partners met in urgent session and agreed to assist their black brothers and sisters in Grenada. The Caribbean countries invited the United States, whose citizens were threatened, to assist in the operation.

158. The OECS will ensure that an interim government is established in Grenada to carry out the people's mandate for free elections. When this is done and the constitutional rights of our brothers have been restored, our assistance will no longer be required and our help will be withdrawn.

159. The OECS countries will band together with anyone who respects the human rights and constitutional privileges of the people to keep peace and prosperity in the region. We seek no quarrel. We seek no guns. We seek only the economic well-being and the democratic rights of our people.

160. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

161. Mr. RAJAEE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I did not take the floor to compare the size of the land or population or the military power of the invading country, namely the United States, with that of the victim country, namely Grenada. I have no intention of going into the disgusting legalistic excuse which the invading forces have formulated for themselves to justify their aggression. I should like to pose a very simple question. Why? Just why did they do it? What allegedly dangerous consequence did they prevent by invading a country like Grenada, so small in population, but so great in value? My delegation wishes to express its profound regret at the mockery that a permanent member of the Security Council blatantly makes of the Council.

162. I wish to share the views of those previous speakers who asked the Council to condemn this act of the Administration of the United States. We regret that, in spite of all this mockery, the same members of the Security Council hypocritically pretend to take the Council seriously by occupying their seats. We regret that they enter every house without the permission of the household. The signature of the international body at the bottom of the documents recognizing the membership of Saint Christopher and Nevis has not yet dried. On the one hand, we are bringing in new members—new innocent people—to this United Nations; and on the other hand, we are committing an act of aggression against a small country like Grenada.

163. What can we call this unpredictable act? Why this discrepancy? On the one hand, we present the United Nations as a place of refuge and, on the other hand, from the seat of the Security Council of the same United Nations we invade the country of another member. Why?

164. The act of aggression perpetrated against Grenada by the United States Administration is indeed an example of many similar acts which demonstrate the ugly nature of imperialism. My delegation has no doubt that the American people, like the future history of the United States, is and will always be ashamed of the blatant and reproachable act of aggression committed against Grenada by the present United States Administration. However, this aggression should be a lesson to those countries whose Administrations have chosen to remain puppets of the United States to wake up and reconsider their attitude and finally to realize that it is not so wise of them to remain servile dependents of the United States.

165. My delegation strongly urges the Council to condemn the act of aggression committed by the United States against Grenada and to spare no effort to make the United States withdraw its troops immediately from Grenada. The United States Administration must appologize to the people of Grenada and must be held accountable for the unnecessary bloodshed and destruction that it has perpetrated, and still is savagely perpetrating, against those good, innocent people.

166. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

167. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, my delegation, while thanking you for having allowed us to speak before the Council, would like to express its pleasure at your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We would also like to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Noel Sinclair of Guyana, for the able and competent way he discharged his duties as President in September.

168. The event we have been witnessing since yesterday morning—that is, the invasion of Grenada, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and a Member of this Organization, by a big Power which is a permanent member of the Security Council—could be fraught with consequences for other small States. The presumptuous way in which the leaders of this action tried to justify their unseemly action cannot fail to disgust any person of common sense and to alarm peace-loving and justice-loving peoples who cherish social progress.

169. In order to justify its inadmissible intervention, the United States Government has unhesitatingly adduced reasons totally inconsistent with each other when confronted with the actual situation: safety of United States citizens, a threat to the maintenance of peace and security in the eastern Caribbean, defence of democracy and so forth.

170. Protection of United States citizens? Against whom and against what? At no time were their lives in danger. The Chancellor of the St. George's School of Medicine himself said that the Government of Grenada had assured him of the security of his students. Last night, speaking in this Chamber [*2487th meeting*], the representative of Grenada confirmed that.

171. To guarantee the maintenance of peace and security in the eastern Caribbean? Of course, we deplore the death of Mr. Maurice Bishop and some of his ministers. But how can the domestic affairs of Grenada be a threat to its neighbours? Did the assassination of President Kennedy or the attempted assassination of President Reagan when he came to power threaten the security of the neighbours of the United States and the security of the region? Who gave the United States the right to set itself up as an international policeman?

172. To assist the Grenadian people to defend democracy? If the American people prefers its form of democracy, that is its business and there is no reason for its Government to seek to impose it on other peoples, particularly not at gunpoint. Similarly, if the Grenadian people has decided to choose a social system that seems appropriate to it, that is its business; even a coalminer is master in his own house. This emanates from the right of peoples to self-determination. Furthermore, with all its difficulties, the Grenadian people has at no time asked the United States to come to its assistance.

173. But the height of ridiculousness is that the Government of the United States is claiming that it undertook this "glorious" action to defend the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Organization of American States. We are all familiar with the tenets of the Charter, in particular Article 2, paragraph 4, which states:

> "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations".

With regard to the charter of the Organization of American States, the Members of that organization that have spoken in the Council since yesterday have all said there is no provision authorizing such an intervention. By virtue of what charter does the United States Government want to assure its defence? No doubt the charter of imperialism and the charter of the Pentagon.

174. It is clear that this gunboat diplomacy endangers the stability of the non-aligned countries, in particular the small ones, merely because their Governments' policies are not to the liking of the Washington authorities. That is why the Lao Government and people, while reaffirming their unswerving solidarity with the Grenadian people, which is now heroically resisting barbaric aggression, vehemently condemn this invasion, which has caused the death of so many innocent people, and we call upon the Security Council to take appropriate steps to secure the immediate withdrawal of the troops of aggression from that country.

175. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Pakistan is deeply concerned at the tragic turn of events in the eastern Caribbean region, where Grenada, a member of the OECS, was overwhelmed yesterday by a combined force contributed by a number of countries of the region and the United States. Attempts have been made to justify the strike against Grenada as a pre-emptive defensive action by neighbouring States on the basis of the threat perceived by them in Grenada's acquisition of disproportionate military capability with foreign help. These States also claim that they were appalled at the intolerable State of affairs inside Grenada.

176. We cannot accept any of these reasons as valid for the external intervention that has taken place in Grenada. Pakistan has always upheld the principle of non-use of force and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States—a principle which flows from the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly Pakistan has consistently condemned violations of these principles, no matter by whom and no matter where they have occurred.

177. Powerful States seizing opportunities for interference in the internal affairs of small neighbouring countries in pursuit of their own national interests and regional and global strategic objectives is not an uncommon experience in our contemporary world. Such actions aggravate the very situations which external intervention seeks to redress, not to speak of the immense tragedy which is inflicted on the countries which are the objects of such intervention.

178. Four years ago, when the Soviet Union took a similar action in neighbouring Afghanistan, Pakistan firmly opposed that action and reminded the international community of its damaging consequences for regional stability and world peace and security. We regarded it as a dangerous precedent and a threat to all nations, particularly those which lived in the shadow of great Powers. Consistent with our position, which is rooted in our fundamental perceptions of international relations and our concern for peace and stability, we cannot condone the military intervention in Grenada, and we join in the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country.

179. The events in Grenada once again serve as a reminder that peace and security in our world are indivisible and that the principles of non-use of force and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States cannot be espoused or affirmed on a selective basis.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

NOTES

[1] General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex.
[2] General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV).
[3] General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex.
[4] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, Volume II*, 35th meeting, paras. 4-9.

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